2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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616 cial trait. It is therefore remarkable that their southern tribes know nothing of the scheme.

This seems the more probable from the forms of the system. The Miwok divide all nature into two halves. Every individual's name has some expressed or connoted reference to one of the infinitely numerous animals or objects of the world's moiety that corresponds to his own social moiety. With the Yokuts only a limited number of animals are associated with each division. One of these is held as hereditary totem by every paternally descended family. The names of the people in such a line of descent have no connection [825] with the totem animal, but every individual in the family regards his inherited animal as his "dog"—the one word which the Indian possesses for the idea of "domestic animal" or "pet captive." The Yokuts totemism is thus more direct and emphatic than that of the Miwok, and to this degree may priority in its formulation be attributed to them.

[614] The Yokuts lines of male descent with the same totem obviously resemble clans. They fall short, however, of being clans in that they are not involved in marriage or exogamy, the moiety being the sole regulating factor in these matters, and in that they bear no group names.

This plan of social duality runs at right angles across the many [582] lines of tribal cleavage. The halves are the same, or are equated, everywhere; and a man marrying outside of his tribe confines himself to the opposite moiety exactly as if he chose his spouse at home.

The names of the moieties are the same in all the Yokuts tribes among which they have been recorded: *Tohelyuwish* and *Nutuwish*. *Tohil* signifies "downstream," which varies locally from south to [193] west and northwest; *not*, the opposite direction; *-u-wish* is a reflexive ending forming abstract nouns and names of practices and institutions.

The border Yokuts identify their moieties with the Miwok ones, and in case of intermarriage between the two peoples there is never a question about the proper correspondence of the divisions. The names, too, are similar, but, strangely, rather opposite. The Yokuts "upstream" is the Miwok "water" half, and "downstream" is the equivalent of "land."

The wide-range cleavage implied by this terminology, with its essential polarity, confirms the impression which is given by other features of the Miwok-Yokuts system, that it inherently has a dual ground plan, with the animal totems as an auxiliary development, and that it is not an organization of decayed clans secondarily grouped into moieties.

616 The representative animal of the *Tohelyuwish* division is the eagle.
825 Of birds, there further belong the raven and crow, blue jay, road run-

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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hair belt recurs as far to the north as the Shastan tribes. Its distribution is likely to have been continuous over a wide area, but there are reports of its use from only a few points.

The dance rattle was the same cleft stick as prevails over all of central California; likewise, the cocoon implement was associated with the shaman. The deer-hoof rattle of parts of northern California and the turtle shell and gourd instruments of the south were unknown. The flute was the usual tube, blown from the end over its edge; the holes were commonly four, grouped in pairs, but without definite rule as to relations of distance. (Pl. 43, *b*.) It was thought to have been invented by the falcon. Drums were not employed by the Yokuts: the foot drum of the Sacramento drainage appears to be part of the dance house. The bull roarer was called *himhimna*, *huhuudech*, or *hmhm'udech*. It was a toy; but whether it had other purpose and potency is not known. (Pl. 44.)

PRAYERS.

Short prayers in fixed form are spoken on a variety of occasions and are evidently a definite element of Yokuts culture.

When there is an eclipse, this is said:

> Leave me a little of the sun!
> Do not devour it altogether from me!
> Leave me a little!

If one wishes to drink of a strange body of water, he says:

> Let us live long in this world!
> This is our water!

The dead are addressed thus by the Tachi:

> You are going to another land.
> You will like that land.
> You shall not stay here.

There is here an expression of the world-wide sentiment that the career of the departed in this world is finished, that the break is final, and that any attempt at return can only be disastrous to the living and is not desired.

As the language knows no exhortative of the second person, nor any form corresponding to our precative "may," these speeches are either in the unvarnished command of the imperative or direct statements in the indicative mode.

One of the most usual Yokuts offerings is tobacco; another, at least among the hill tribes and those of the south, is eagle down.

The ritualistic number of the Yokuts is most often 6, sometimes 12, not infrequently 7; 3 occurs occasionally, but it is not certain whether with any sense of significance. The universal 4 of the north central tribes, and the 5 and 10 of the northwestern Indians appear to be meaningless to the Yokuts.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The usual Yokuts word for squirrel is *ske'-til* or *seeth'-kill*. It is pronounced sharply and, when properly pronounced, resembles greatly the bark of a squirrel. In order to say the word exactly as pronounced by old Yokuts, one must almost be able to bark like a squirrel.

To the writer the most interesting Yokuts word is *we*. It is used as a diminutive and enters into many of their words. *We'-che* means little. *We'-chet* signifies small sticks such as might be used for kindling a fire. *We'-chep* is a small boy. This diminutive immediately brings the identical Scotch word to mind. In view of the fact there is even yet considerable controversy concerning the origin of the Yokuts tribes, the writer would like to offer (not too seriously) the above words as evidence of Scotch ancestry.

Nor does the evidence of possible Scotch ancestry end with language. The Yokuts game of shinny was played with a small oak ball and a stick, curved like a golf club. Further, and probably more pertinent evidence of Scotch relationship is the well established fact of Yokuts thrift. While these Indians would under some circumstances make small gifts, they were quite apt to expect them to be returned upon demand. This trait of Indian character is so well known to white persons of pioneer ancestry that the term *Indian Giver* is well understood.

The language of the Yokuts tribes between Kern Canyon and the Chowchilla River varies so little that one who understands the *Yowlumne* dialect can with little difficulty understand a *Chauchila*. However, there is a unique variation in the area from north of the Kaweah River south to Tule River and involving the *Wachikit*, Wukchumne, *Kaweah*, *Yokodo* and *Yaudanchi* tribes. In these dialects the sound of "l" seldom occurs. In words of surrounding tribes, *Telumne*, *Chunut*, *Tachi* and *Koyeti* having an "l", the first group substitutes a "d". The second group of tribes call the Yokodo, Yokolo. It is from the second group that the name of Yokohl Valley was taken, for the tribe which lived there called themselves Yokodo. The Wukchumne call the Telumne Tedumne. The common Yokuts word for bow is *chalip*. The Wukchumne call this *chadip*. They have no difficulty in sounding the "l" for they easily use the word *Limik*, name of the Yokuts Mythical Hero, Prairie Falcon.

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and that they could have learned to understand each other perfectly in a short time. The greatest divergences in vocabulary were seemingly shown by small groups geographically or otherwise more or less isolated from the others, the speech of the more important tribes through the whole range of territory of the family differing only dialectically. From many tribes vocabularies have never been obtained. For this reason the grouping of the dialects can only be determined approximately. The available evidence on this point is summed up at the end of the paper. For the present it is enough to state that there were two main branches of the family, which include the more divergent dialects peculiar to small groups such as the Paleuyami of Poso Creek. The two branches have been here called the Valley division and the Foot-hill division, from the fact that the former includes nearly all the valley tribes while the latter consists principally of the hill tribes on Tule river, Kaweah river, Kings river, and Dry creek.

The differences between the vocabularies of the many dialects consist both of phonetic variations of words and of radical differences. Prominent among the variations are vocalic mutations. These seem to be similar to a scheme of vowel changes which constitutes one of the most important means in the language of expressing structure. The radical differences in words between dialects that on the whole are closely related are sometimes surprising, occurring frequently in the most common words, such as man, woman, person, house, stone, eat, and sleep. A similar tendency toward as marked a prevalence of radical as of phonetic differences exists in the dialects of other linguistic stocks in California. At least one cause of this feature is certainly the universal tabu of the names of the dead; but it is scarcely possible that this cause alone is sufficient to explain the extent of the phenomenon. Among the Yokuts the people speaking one dialect generally understand and often know the radically different words of other dialects though they do not use them.

We owe the name Yokuts to Stephen Powers. It is the word denoting person or people in the majority of the dialects of this linguistic family, but in the usage of the Indians its application is not confined to individuals of their own linguistic family.

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For this family there is, as might be expected, no native name. The exact form of the word is usually yokote, sometimes yokots. Yokoch would therefore be the most accurate general orthography, provided the vowels were given the quality of continental open o and spoken short with the accent on the first syllable. Yokut is of course only a false English singular.

As to the name Mariposan, it is sufficient to say that its sole claim to acceptance rests on the employment of a rule of priority borrowed from the system of modern biological technical nomenclature, never formally or generally accepted by anthropologists, and as undesirable to attempt to introduce into ethnology as it will be impossible to enforce in the end. It is derived from Mariposa, meaning butterfly in Spanish, the name of a California county which was not organized until after the American settlement. This county may once have contained some Yokuts Indians; but in its present smaller extent it does not cover one square mile of what is known to have been Yokuts territory.

The dialect specially investigated is that of the people calling themselves Yaudanchi, plural Yoweehani, who inhabited the foothill region of Tule river. By most of their neighbors they are called Yaulanchi. At present they constitute a small fraction of the one hundred and fifty Indians on Tule river reservation, the majority being Yauelmani, a tribe originally farther south. It has seemed best to avoid confusion by first treating this dialect alone without reference to other dialects in regard to which less complete information was obtained, and then to follow with comparative notes on such material as was obtained from these other dialects, thus avoiding duplication of presentation as much as possible. The first part of this paper, therefore, consists of a discussion of the phonetics and grammar of Yaudanchi, followed by a vocabulary and interlinear texts in the same dialect. In part second are given comparative grammatical notes on the Yauelmani dialect of Kern river. A third part of the paper deals more briefly with various other dialects, and includes a number of short texts, as well as comparisons and summaries. A comparative Yokuts vocabulary, covering all the dialects from which there is material, has been reserved for inclusion in a subsequent publication.

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LEXICAL RELATIONS OF DIALECTS.

The principal characteristic of the vocabulary of the Yokuts dialects is the great number of totally distinct stems used in different dialects for the same word. This feature is the more pronounced on account of the comparatively great uniformity of words when their stems do not change, and especially on account of the marked structural similarity pervading all divisions of the family. The diversity of dialects as regards stems becomes particularly apparent when, after having the conditions of Yokuts in mind, one turns for comparison to the larger families of the continent, as for instance Shoshonean. This family, adjoining the Yokuts on the east, has an immensely greater territorial extent, reaching from Wyoming to Southern California and from Oregon to Texas. Its dialectic groups are well marked; but as one turns the pages of a comparative vocabulary, he is impressed by the almost endless variability, time and again, of the same stem, with a persistence, however, of this stem through all or nearly all the dialects. In Yokuts the stems vary much less, and in fact are often identical; but instead, new radicals constantly appear as one passes from one dialectic group to another.

It is probable that a similar comparative phonetic uniformity but radical diversity characterizes many of the linguistic families of California, especially those in the large Central morphological group. This feature has been exaggerated by writers who have received impressions of the native languages by coming more or less in contact with the Indians without systematically collecting linguistic material; but, allowing for the necessary modification on this account, these impressions are nevertheless correct. Study shows conditions entirely similar to those of Yokuts to exist in Yuki, Pomo, and Costanoan. Dr. Dixon's recent study of the Shasta and Achomawi, as a result of which he has united these two groups into a single family, deals primarily with lexical similarities, but gives negative evidence of the great radical diversity that must exist in this now unified family. The miscellaneous published Maidu and Wintun vocabularies show quite clearly that the same conditions exist at least to a considerable degree in

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these two stocks; precisely to what extent, remains to be seen. All these languages, with the exception in a measure of the Shasta-Achomawi, are phonetically very simple and clear. In none of them do radical syllables appear to contain two consecutive consonants; in all full, simple, and naturally produced sounds predominate greatly over impure, unusual, or phonetically idiomatic ones. In all there is very little phonetic modification, especially of consonants, upon contact of stems in composition or derivation. Even the vowels undergo little change in this way except for some phonetic harmony in Maidu and Yokuts. It is evident that with this quality of phonetic simplicity fundamentally impressed upon the consciousness or rather unconsciousness of these languages, extensive and complicated phonetic variations such as characterize Indo-European and some of the larger American families, cannot so well occur between dialects.

While the comparatively slight diversification of dialects through alterations in them of the same radicals, is thus causally directly connected with the phonetic character of the Central Californian languages—slight as compared with the total degree of differentiation of dialects,—the origin of the corresponding opposite characteristic of great radical diversity is less easily explained even in a general way. It is probable that this radical differentiation is due largely to the general tendencies which have resulted in the diversification of the languages of California into so many families or apparent families, so far as this diversification may have arisen within California and not be due to successive immigrations of already distinct stocks. But what those diversifying tendencies are is not yet known. All that can at present be conjectured is that they are connected, as they are co-existent with, the tendencies toward phonetic and structural simplicity that are so deeply impressed upon almost all the Central Californian languages.

Borrowing of words from other families will account for the radical diversities between dialects only to a slight extent. It is becoming evident that there has been more or less borrowing between almost all the families of the Central Californian group. In a few cases the number of stems held in common by two or more stocks is in fact so large as to raise the question whether it

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*197 does not point to their original unity. In most cases, however, the borrowed words constitute only a small portion of the total 197 vocabulary of any family or dialect, and, what is more, they are as often stems denoting special ideas as they are words of more primitive meaning and considerable significance in linguistic comparisons. A second cause that has no doubt been operative in *197 producing the differentiation of dialects, exactly to what degree ● 193 is hard to determine, is the prevailing taboo of names of the dead. This in some cases probably has led to borrowing; but more fre- 551 quently to the use of a stem properly belonging to a dialect and 768 cognate in meaning to, but as a radical distinct from, the one which is temporarily or permanently dropped. This process, it will be seen, would explain a great number of diversities in Yokuts. It is however hard to imagine that this cause alone could have been productive even of only a large part of the extensive differentiation occurring. Where a single dialect shows a different radical from the other dialects of the same group, this explanation of the taboo as cause is reasonable enough; but when entire groups of dialects possess different radicals from other groups, it is evident that further factors must be taken into consideration. And these factors still remain to be discovered.

*197 Numerous instances could be given of the disappearance of stems in one or more of the dialectic groups of Yokuts, and of 193 the appearance in these dialects of other stems, often utterly un- 192 changed from their forms in other groups but with a different meaning.

For instance, the usual Yokuts word for house is t-i, varied occasionally to t-e and tei. In most Northern dialects this stem disappears and is replaced by xo. The usual meaning of xo is to be or live, which it appears to possess in all dialects. In addition it has probably given rise to the continuative suffix xo found in the Valley, Northern, and Kings River groups. In the Foothill dialects this stem xo acquires the additional meaning of sit, replacing entirely the Valley stem huloc.

The usual Foot-hill stem for sleep is eñt-im. In Paleuyami this is replaced by k'eneu, which is nothing but the usual Foothill radical k'änu or k'aniu, meaning to lie. In the Valley dialects sleep is expressed by woi, which is also the term for lie.

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The usual Yokuts term for smoke is mod-ak. In most Northern dialects this disappears to be replaced by a stem tsehan, which reappears in Yaudanchi as teeheñ with the meaning of fog. The same stem, teeheñ, replaces the usual word for cloud, k'ädai or k'ilei, in Wükchamni, Aiticha, and Choinok, while in Tachi the stem ceel, which usually has the meaning of rain, appears for cloud. In place of this stem ceel, which is the customary one in the Valley dialects for rain, xotoo is characteristic of the Foothill dialects. But in certain special Foot-hill and Valley dialects, such as Tulamni, Gashowu, Tachi, Chunut, and Nutunutu, a stem gono, meaning fall, appears.

The usual stem for medicine-man is ant-u. The Northern dialects show a stem teic, which is the radical having in Yaudanchi, and apparently in most other dialects, the meaning of make. The medicine-man is he who makes.

In Paleuyami the usual Yokuts words for head and hair, ot-o and dool, are replaced by a form t-uk, which is nothing but the Foot-hill and Northern stem teuk, meaning in these dialects brain.

Such instances could be indefinitely multiplied, and were the Yokuts languages known more thoroughly an even greater number of radical diversities could no doubt be explained in this manner than is now the case. At the same time there is evidently a large element of diverse stems whose origin cannot be explained in this way. Such stems may also once have taken their rise through dialectic shifting of meaning, but the process and the fact can no longer be traced or determined.

To illustrate the degree of uniformity and diversity of the stems in the several dialectic groups of Yokuts, a comparative vocabulary of a few selected terms is here given. The fuller vocabularies from which this table is drawn will be presented in a future publication dealing specifically with the tribal divisions and dialects of the family.

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extent of these "irregular" differences are represented in the selected comparative vocabulary given. Onomatopoetic words seem particularly liable to such irregular and certainly often meaningless modification, as a few examples of names of animals will illustrate.

Hummingbird: bèmamgute, dèmamteui, dèmamuku, dèmaiteu, bèmanduts, bèmamteui, bèmax, gûmax. The accent is in all forms on the first syllable.

King-snake: godoñkid = golonkil, golonki, gololki, golonti, golwonti, golontil.

Species of lizard: kondjedja, kondjedjwi, kondjodjuwi, kondjedji, kondjowi.

There are a few cases, but only a few, where the initial consonant of stems becomes lost or altered in certain dialects, so much so that the identity of the stem could not be asserted were it not for transitional forms in other dialects. The principal instances observed of this nature are the following.

Forehead: Valley, pit·in; Poso Creek, pelen; other Foot-hill groups, tilin.

Tongue: Northern and Valley, talxat·; Tule-Kaweah, tadxat·; Poso, talapis; Buena Vista, aladis; Kings, madat·.

Belly: Northern, balik; Kings, olok'; Chuhowu, luk'in.

Brains: Northern, Tule-Kaweah, Buena Vista, tegen, teok; Chauchila, oka; Kings, hogn; Valley, hop, hup.

Saliva: Poso, kelyi; Buena Vista, gälüyi; Kings kilet·, kelit·; Choinok, holawat; Northern, hedjil; Chuhowu, Chauchila, hexil.

Bear: Dumna uyun; Chauchila, Tachi, ului; Choinok, Yaudmani, moloi.

GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS OF DIALECTS.

As has been said, a comparative grammatical examination of the Yokuts dialects closely corroborates their classification on lexical grounds. There is evident the same primary distinction between Foot-hill and Valley dialects, with a greater diversity in the former and with particular specialization in the Poso Creek and Buena Vista Lake groups. The structural features most readily available for comparison are, first, the pronouns,

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*197 ● 193 especially the personal ones; and, second, the verbal suffixes of mode and tense.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

In at least seven-eighths of the Yokuts dialects the personal pronouns are remarkably uniform, the extent of the variations being shown by the two full tables previously given of the Yaudanchi and Yauelmani forms. In the great mass of dialects there are no variations of moment from these forms, and the more elementary forms, such as the subjective, objective, and possessive of the singular of the first two persons, na, ma, nan, mam, nim, and min, are absolutely identical. The third person shows more variation. In all dialects it lacks subjective and objective singular forms. The possessive, his, in all Valley dialects is amin, clearly related through analogy to the possessive of the second person, min. In the Foot-hill division the Kings River dialects show the form nearest the Valley form, namely, imin. The Tule-Kaweah group has an, made familiar from Yaudanchi, while the Poso Creek and Buena Vista forms are not known. There is a further difference between the Valley and Foot-hill divisions in that the former possesses subjective forms of the third person in the dual and plural, amak and aman, which at least the Tule-Kaweah group of the Foot-hill division lacks. These subjective Valley forms of the third person are, however, not true pronouns. They are not used as the equivalent of English "they," but merely as an indication of number, frequently with nouns as well as verbs, so that they equal in function the Yaudanchi number-particles tik and tin.

The Poso Creek and Buena Vista groups show the greatest peculiarities in the forms of their pronouns. Their singular subjective and objective forms are indeed identical with those of all other dialects: na, ma, nan, and mam; but their possessive forms vary from the usual ones,—principally through the introduction of a k sound into the forms for the first person. Poso Creek says gen for "my," Buena Vista mik. Poso Creek has men for the possessive of the second person, while the Buena Vista group has the usual min. It will be seen that while the forms used in these two groups vary from all others, and from

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each other, there yet is within each dialect a parallelism of form between the first and second persons, similar to the parallelism existing in all other dialects: Poso Creek, gen and men; Buena Vista, mik and min; other groups, nim and miu. 197* 193

The k appearing in the possessive pronoun of the first person of these two southernmost groups is interesting because it would seem to be due to the influence of extraneous linguistic stocks. K is the radical element expressing the first person in the Chumash languages, with which the Buena Vista dialects were in immediate territorial contact. K is also found in the pronouns of the first person in the Kern River branch of the Shoshonean family, the branch of the family with which the Paleuyami of Poso creek were undoubtedly in closest relation. The general Shoshonean radical indicative of the first person is n, which appears in the Kern River dialects with the addition of k: nögi or nöki, instead of usual nä. It is scarcely to be supposed that the two southern Yokuts groups directly borrowed their k pronominal forms from the adjacent Shoshonean and Chumash stocks. Such borrowing is both highly improbable on general grounds and unlikely because these Yokuts dialects show the k only in the possessive pronoun, the subjective and objective elements of the first person being the usual Yokuts n. It is rather to be imagined that acquaintance with languages of contiguous families, and the unconscious influence of these, stimulated or reawakened a tendency that led to the use of these k forms in the affected Yokuts dialects. While such tendencies may seem intangible and vague, and it must be admitted that we as yet know practically nothing of their real nature, there nevertheless is evidence that they existed. It is well known, for instance, that the great majority of the numerous linguistic families of North America have either n or m or both for the roots of their pronominal stems of the first and second persons. This wide-spread agreement can scarcely be interpreted as an indication of original relationship of these families, many of which are as utterly distinct in fundamental structure and general phonetic character as they are totally diverse in their words. Neither can the phenomenon be attributed to accident, for the number of cases is far too great. It can also scarcely be imagined that pronominal

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forms are above all others particularly liable to direct borrowing in American languages. It is accordingly necessary to conceive of a certain deep-seated tendency, not yet well understood, which either results in the production of pronominal forms in n and m by most stocks, and their adherence or reversion to such forms; or which renders most stocks particularly susceptible to external influence in the phonetic shaping of their pronominal stems. Conditions are certainly very remarkable in California as regards this wide-spread uniformity, as has been previously pointed out.[1] Of twenty-one families now recognized, seventeen or eighteen have m as the primary constituent of their pronominal stem denoting the second person; nine, or nearly half, show n in the first person, and four show k. The distribution of these four families is also instructive. They are Miwok, Costanoan, Salinan, and Chumash, occupying a continuous area in central California practically enclosing the Yokuts territory. As to these four families must be added the contiguous southernmost dialectic groups of Yokuts, and the also contiguous Kern River Shoshonean dialectic group; and as the sound k does not elsewhere in California appear as an expression of the first person, except that in Yurok, far in the north, it is used in combination with n in the form nek; it is evident that this occurrence of k to denote the first person is not accidental, but due to the interinfluence of territorially adjacent stocks. Even if it is held that this argument is weakened by the probable superficiality of the diversity of the families at present recognized as distinct in California, the explanation of this k as due to an original identity of the several stocks possessing it, cannot be accepted, for while some or many of the Californian linguistic families may ultimately prove to be related, this can safely be affirmed not to be true of the stocks here in consideration. Chumash and Salinan are in morphological type and phonetic character quite distinct from Costanoan, Yokuts, Miwok, and the remaining families of California.[2] The large and well defined Shoshonean family can also certainly not be regarded as genetically related to the minor and diverse Californian stocks. It is therefore clear that at least

[1] Amer. Anthr., n. s. V, 17, 1903.
[2] Ibid., 18.

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part of the occurrence of k stems to denote the first person in California is due to the influence upon each other of distinct but geographically adjacent families.

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DEMONSTRATIVES.

The demonstrative forms are also a ready means of distinguishing the Yokuts dialectic groups. The indefinite demonstrative ta, expressive of reference rather than of distance, but when referring to distance indicating remoteness and not proximity, seems to be used in all dialects without variation; but the forms of the several stems more or less definitely expressing distance vary phonetically. The usual stem of the demonstrative specifically indicating remoteness without invisibility is ka, found probably in all the dialects of the Valley division and in the Tule-Kaweah group of the Foot-hill division. In the Kings River group of the Foot-hill division the similar form gai is used. The two southern Foot-hill groups show somewhat aberrant forms, Poso Creek ko, and Buena Vista xuntu. The demonstratives indicating propinquity are sometimes one and sometimes two in number, but in the latter case always quite similar in form. The fundamental form is perhaps ki, corresponding to the ka indicating remoteness. The Valley division shows two forms, hi and ki, the former apparently indicating greater nearness. The principal Valley differs from the Northern group in using the hi stem in reduplicated form. In the Foot-hill division the Kings River group has ke. The three southern groups of this division all show xi, with the addition at least in Tule-Kaweah of xe. The relation of these forms indicating proximity may be briefly expressed thus: xi forms in the three southern Foot-hill groups are replaced by ki and hi forms in the most northern Foot-hill group and in the Valley division.

VERBAL SUFFIXES.

The structural factors most important in the classification of the Yokuts dialects are the tense and mode suffixes of the verbs. Prominent among these, both on account of the uniformity with which it coincides with the divisions and on account of the readiness with which it is obtained in securing information, is the

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imperative. When asked to translate an English verb stem into their language, the Yokuts, like people of many other linguistic stocks, are likely to give the imperative form. Accordingly, once the imperative ending is known, almost any Yokuts vocabulary containing half a dozen verbs, no matter how inaccurately rendered, is almost certain to be sufficient to show to which division of the family the dialect in question belongs. The Valley dialects throughout use a form -ka, while the Foot-hill dialects all lack any suffix. So far as known this rule suffers no exceptions. The -ka ending, as has been brought out in the discussion of Yaudanchi, does not, like the usual a-suffixes, affect the quality of the stem vowels of the verb. There is therefore some reason for regarding it as being an enclitic particle in the inward consciousness of the language, rather than a true suffix. The -ka ending itself is subject to but little dialectic modification, other than becoming -ga in some dialects, or lightening its vowel until its form is almost -k. Of the known dialects Chauchila alone shows a tendency to vary the a of this ending to harmonize with the vowels of the stem of the verb: -ka, -ku, -ki, etc.

The true tense and mode suffixes of Yokuts are of two kinds. First those which like the future and present -in, the reflexive -wie, and the agentive -ite, appear to be found in all dialects with no alteration except slight phonetic modification; and second the remainder, of which each is confined to certain groups of dialects. Of this class the most prominent are the past suffixes -ji and -as and the continuative -ad or -al, which are characteristic of the Foot-hill division, and the past -an and continuative -xo characteristic of the Valley division. The scant Pozo Creek material does not show the continuative -al, but on the other hand there is no evidence that it is absent. The only exception to the general appertainment of these suffixes respectively to the two divisions is that the Kings River group lacks the -al continuative of the other Foot-hill groups and replaces it by the typical Valley form -xo. In addition to these two classes of suffixes corresponding to the two divisions of the family, there is a verbal form -am, or -mi, of a significance not yet determined, which is characteristic of the Northern and probably also the Kings River dialects, but is lacking in the main Valley and the Tule-Kaweah group.

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A means of determining whether any dialect belongs to the Foot-hill or Valley division, with apparently as much certainty and readiness as by the imperative suffix, is furnished by the negative, no. All Valley dialects have the form ohom, all Foot-hill dialects k'amu, except that the Buena Vista group shows u"hu" or a"ha".

COMPOSITION AND DERIVATION.

In the discussion of Yaudanchi a particular point was made of the apparent scarcity of evidences of composition and derivation in this dialect, although many of its words were of several syllables and of a length and appearance which in other linguistic families would be almost prima facie evidence of their derivative nature. The statement to this effect was written when but few of the dialects of the family were known to the writer. As the subsequent accessions of material have brought the number of dialects represented by considerable vocabularies to more than twenty, and as these have been systematically compared, it might be expected that evidence of the composite structure or derivative nature of many stems had thereby been obtained to a sufficient degree to necessitate a modification of the statement previously made. This is however not the case, for the collation of the various vocabularies not only fails to explain the origin of the Yaudanchi words, but makes it clear that derivative processes are of small significance in the etymology of all the branches of the Yokuts family. Three or four derivative suffixes are indeed visible in the compared vocabularies; but these suffixes are nearly all derivable from an inspection of the Yaudanchi material alone, are of indefinite significance, are applied to a comparatively small number of words, and make the original meaning of the stems to which they are appended, many of which are polysyllabic, no clearer than before. As has been said before, the lexical differentiation of the Yokuts dialects takes place primarily through the employment of radically different stems, and secondarily through minor phonetic modifications which are clearly not of structural or derivational significance. Etymological differences between dialects are so few because derivation is a factor of negligible significance in Yokuts.

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A striking instance of the failure of dialectic comparisons to shed any light on the origin of Yokuts words is furnished by the numerals four and five. These words are undoubtedly derivative, four, hat-pañi or hoto-ponoi, being certainly formed from poñoi or ponoi, two, and yit-einil, five, from yet, one. This being the case, it might be supposed that in so great a number of dialects as have been examined, and these belonging to six distinct groups, there would be a certain number which showed forms for four and five containing the elements two and one in combination with other elements than the dialects previously known, or containing the same elements in a phonetic form that would make them identifiable with stems of known significance. This supposition is however not a fact. The twenty-one dialects show forms for these two numerals that are in their elements absolutely identical and that present variations which are clearly only phonetic, that is to say, in themselves meaningless. It is therefore clear that, while it cannot be doubted that these two words are composite in origin, this original composition yet goes back to an earlier stage of the language; and that in its present stage, as proved by their unity in the most diverse dialectic groups, these composite forms are regarded and treated by the language purely as radical stems. The same fact is emphasized by the words for fourteen and fifteen, which are formed from the abbreviated stems for four and five by the addition of the suffix -am. As stated in the presentation of Yaudanchi, the abbreviation of these two numerals before this decimal suffix runs counter to their etymology, the second element of each being, as it were, deliberately cut in two and the final portion lost before the suffix. Hat-pañi becomes hate-p-am, and yit-einil yit-e-am. These two forms hate-p-am and yit-e-am have been found not only in Yaudanchi but in five other dialects, representing all the principal groups of the family; and their forms in these six dialects are, except for variations in the quality of their vowels, absolutely identical. Here again it is clear that the derivational process has long since become crystallized, and that the derived form is treated by all dialects alike as a radical unit. In other words, while there is some etymological derivation in Yokuts, the process is a completed rather than an active one, and the fluidity of

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elementary parts and the possibility of their free combination so characteristic of many American languages, is entirely wanting. 197 *

The following are the principal derivational suffixes apparent in the comparative vocabularies. 193 ●

-atc, -itc, diminutive; Yaudanchi -hate, apparently a plural of adjectives when used substantively. 197 *

a̱xd-atc, child in Michahai, Choinimni, Gashowu, and Dumna, from axid, daughter, child. 193 192

got-etc, small in Northern dialects, from got-i, large.

mets-ots, small in Buena Vista, from stem met-, large.

gu-itc, beads in Wükehamni.

-ic, -uc:

Tail: Foot-hill, gut; Valley, gut'-uc.

Liver: dip; Kings River, dalap-ic.

Arrow: t'uy-oc; t'ui, shoot.

Woman: Valley, muk'-èla; Foot-hill, muk'-ec.

Tongue: talxat-; Pᵃso and Buena Vista, talap-is, alad-is.

Thigh: k'oh-ic, k'ow-i, gow-i.

Sun, moon: Valley, o'p; Kings and Tule-Kaweah, up-ic, up-uc.

Wood: hit'-ec; hit'-el, ash.

Ash: Tule-Kaweah and Poso, hap-ac.

Sand: Tule-Kaweah and Kings, wak'-ac.

Digger-pine: ton, Tule-Kaweah, toñ-ac.

-il, -ul:

awaic-il, awate-il, chin; some dialects, awac, awadji.

teimec-il, eyebrow; some dialects, d-imit-.

gepe-il, shoulder; some dialects, gapai.

kuyo-c-il, knee; kuyo, ankle.

cayat-el, foot, in Paleuyami.

haep-el, Choinok; haepay-al, Yauelmani; has-oeki, Tachi: lungs.

getsñ-il, gutsiñ-il, bow, in Paleuyami and Buena Vista.

humn-ul, quail.

hit'-el, ash; hit'-ec, wood.

-ui, -tcui:

Navel: teutkuc; Buena Vista, tsotus; Yaudanchi, teudoc-ui.

Knee: upuc; Choinimni, poc-ope-ui.

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Kidney: tailiuxal; Taehi, tailamg-ui.

Hummingbird: bèmamgute, etc.; bèmam-te-ui, dèmam-te-ui; Taehi, ho-ho-te-ui.

Butterfly: wal-ap-te-ui, dab-ă-dap-te-ui; wal-wal, butterfly, dap-dap, leaf.

-na:

Snake sp.: delits-delits-na.

Hummingbird: kum-kum-na.

Horned owl; hi-hi-na.

The most conspicuous indications of composition or derivation other than by these suffixes are found in the following words:

Four: hat-pañi, hoto-ponoi; poñoi, ponoi, two.

Five: yit-einil, yit-ienil; yit, yet, one.

Man: Buena Vista, kohote; Tule-Kaweah, kouhte-un; Kings, bute-on.

Woman: Foot-hill, muk'-ee; Valley, muk'-èla

Girl: Northern and Valley dialects, various, gai-na, woman, girl, gai-ta, girl, little girl.

Old man, old woman: mox-elo, mok-djo, mok-nite, mote-ate, mote-odo; Poso, nem-halatei, nem-a, large.

Father: no-pop; Tule-Kaweah, na-tet; no- is possibly originally the possessive pronoun of the first person; cf. mother, no-om, na-joj.

Sweat-house: moc; Poso, muc-añi.

Pipe: baum, etc.; Poso, bam-uñi; other dialects, cuk-ut, cuk-mai.

Belly: balik, olok', luk'-in.

Sun, moon, day; o'p, op-odo, up-ie, op-di, ob-ol-iu.

Snow: ponpon; some Valley dialects, hayau; Poso and Buena Vista, eaway-an.

Large: Tule-Kaweah, met-; Valley, mat-ek, may-ek.

Jackrabbit: Poso, tok-coc; Yaudanchi and Yauelmani, tuk-uyun; tuk, ear.

Rabbit: tiu, teiu; Poso, yem-tsou.

Flat tule: got-; Poso, gata-wei; Buena Vista, gata-iwi.

Dog: tece-ee; Northern, tee-xa.

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REDUPLICATION.

The failure of extended comparative material to show any considerable processes of derivation by composition or affixation in Yokuts is repeated in the similar failure of this material to throw much light on processes of derivation by reduplication. A considerable number of duplicated and reduplicated words are evident, but in a very great majority of the cases these retain their reduplicated form, often with more or less phonetic modification, through all the dialectic groups. Where such a reduplicated form is not shown by one or more groups, it is usually the stem itself that fails to appear in these groups, not the reduplication of the stem. Dul-ul, mountain, and ine-ie, good, exist in these reduplicated forms in all dialects in which they appear at all.[1] In the dialects in which they are not found, they are replaced by the entirely distinct stems lomit and met-, or similar forms. It is evident that reduplication like composition is no longer an active word-forming process in the language, but that the forms which it has produced are usually treated by the language as simple stems.

Of course the purely grammatical process of reduplication in the numeral and verb to express distribution and iteration, which can be applied at will to any stem of these two parts of speech provided that its significance allows, is of a different character from the etymological reduplication here discussed, and must not be confused with it.

The etymological reduplication found in the Yokuts dialects takes several different forms. First there is simple duplication, usually of monosyllabic stems, as in dapdap, leaf. Second there is a form resembling this, in which the first syllable of a disyllabic or polysyllabic word is repeated, including at times the consonant following as well as preceding the vowel of the duplicated syllable. If the words in which this form of reduplication occurs can be regarded as composite, then the first monosyllabic constituent of the words is entirely repeated, and the process must

[1] At the same time there are found such unreduplicated forms of the same stems as the objective inic-ya and the locative dul-au. Similar forms, such as ol-lu from ol-il and nat-unduwic from nat-et, are evidence of some tendency especially for final reduplication to disappear before suffixation.

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be considered as a duplication of an entire stem or word-element. If however such words are not composite, then the process is to be regarded as merely a phonetic reduplication of the first syllable of a word. Such forms as pud-pud-ui and yip-yap-ut· are examples. Third, there occurs a process that has the appearance of final reduplication. This differs from the two preceding methods in that the reduplicated portion of the word seems never to contain more than one consonant, whether this be initial or final. Thus we have inc-ie and wile-li. Fourth and finally, there are a few words showing duplication or initial reduplication with a shifting of the vowel of the second of the reduplicated syllables to a position between the two duplicating syllables. Thus poe-o-pe-ui, knee, undoubtedly related to a form upue found in other dialects; and dab-ă-dap-teui, butterfly, probably related in origin to dap-dap, leaf. This form of reduplication also occurs, as has been mentioned, in connection with grammatical reduplication in the verb. It is infrequent as an etymological factor. Reduplication of the first two types, or full duplication and initial reduplication, is the most frequent, thirty-five or forty instances having been noted, mostly of the first of these two classes. Final reduplication has been found in about twenty-five words.

Duplication.

Man: nò-no, V, N.
Eye: en-en.
Heart: hon-hon, hoñ-hoñ.
Arrow: g'el-g'el, P.
Earthquake: yel-yal.
Cloud: p'in-p'ai, BV.
Snow: pon-pon.
Ice: gañ-geñ, P.
Ocean: hòu-ho, N.
Leaf: dap-dap.
Duck sp.: k'ui-k'ui.
Snake sp.: dèlam-dèlam
delits-delits-na.
Butterfly: lau-lau.
wal-wal.

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Worm: k'ewas-k'ewas, N.
wek-wik, V.
Hawk sp.: wate-wate.
Mallard duck: wat-wat-.
Duck sp.: con-cen, P.
Duck sp.: ox-ox, BV, ox-ux-um, P.
Road-runner: ol-ui.
Goose: la'-la'.
Bluejay: t-ai-t-ai, etc.
Horned owl: him-him, etc.
Magpie: ote-ote.
Walk: tiu-tiu, P.

Initial Reduplication.

Lips: yip-yap-ut-, yibebit-, yebit-.
Lower leg: pud-pud-ui, bul-bul-ui.
Long beads: tca-tca-yal, BV.
Thunder: mi-mi-at-.
Stand: wo-wu-l.
Turtle: koi-koy-ot.
Bird: we-wu-tsoi, V, wi-wi-tai, P.
Horned owl: hi-hi-na, him-him.
Small owl: gu-go-teup.
Hummingbird: kum-kum-na, K, ho-ho-teui, Tachi.
Duck sp.: ox-ux-um, P, ox-ox, BV.

Final Reduplication.

Father: no-p-op, na-t-et.
Mother: na-j-oj.
Throat: so-lo-lo, K, N.
Fingers: xal-al-uit, xal-il-it, K; xapal, V, T, BV.
Foot: dad-ut- (?).
Mountain: dul-ul, dul-au; gop-up-at, BV.
Plain: wal-al, V.
Rock: sil-il, N, V, P; odox-ix, BV.
Tule sp.: kol-ol-is, P, koy-us, koy-is, N.
White: djol-ol, teoy-oi.
Good: ine-ie.
Lie: ban-an-.

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Dog: tese-se, FH.
Weasel: eam-im, N, K.
Duck sp.: teo-gu-gu, to-gu-gu, V.
Lizard sp.: kon-dje-dja, etc.
wi-le-li, wu-lo-lu.
Frog: o-gu-ku.
Butterfly: wo-ge-gi.
Woodpecker: pal-ad-at, pal-ag-ak.
Small owl: co-li-li.
Ground owl: we-dji-dji.
Hummingbird: bem-am-guta, etc.
Dove: up-la-li, up-ya-yi.

Reduplication with Change of Vowel.

Knee: poe-ope-ui, K.
Wood-rat: dum-ô-dum-ute, T.
Snake sp.: cap-ä-cip-ite, lap-a-lip-it.
Butterfly: dab-ä-dap-teui.

SUMMARY.

For convenience, the principal phonetic and grammatical differences and correspondences of the six dialectic groups are reviewed in the following table.

	Foothill				Valley	
	Buena Vista	*Poso Creek*	*Tule-Kaweah*	*Kings River*	*Northern*	*Valley*
l	l	l	d	l	l	l
ñ	ñ	ñ	ñ	n	n	n
ô, û	ô, û	e, i	ô, û	e, i	e, i	e, i
Imperative	—	—	—	—	-ka	-ka
Preterite	?	-ji	-ji	-ji	—	—
Preterite	-ac	?	-ac	-ac	—	—
Preterite	—	—	—	—	-an	-an
Continuative	-al	?	-ad	—	—	—
Continuative	—	—	—	-xo	-xo	-xo
Fut., Partic.	-in	-in	-in	-in	-in	-in
Reflexive	?	?	-wic	-wic	-wic	-wic
Agent	-ite	-ite	-ite	-ite	-ite	-ite
My	mik	gen	nim	nim	nim	nim
Thy	min	men	min	min	min	min
His	?	?	an	imin	amin	amin
This	xi	xi	xo	ke	hi	hihi
This			xi		ki	ki
That	xuntu	ko	ka	gai	ka?	ka
That	ta	ta	ta	ta	ta	ta
Where	hel	heli-u	hide-u	hile-u	hile-u	hiye-uk
No	a'ha'	k'ami	k'amu	k'amu	ohom	ohom

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Paleuyami

Paleuyami changes to i:

hiba	hèpa, hŏpa
hig'a	hèxa
gixa	gèxa, k'ŏxa
yit	yet
k'ami	k'amu

Paleuyami changes to u:

nut	not, notu
mut-ka	mod-ak
humfiol	humnul

Paleuyami changes to a:

lopat·	lopit·
lomat	lomit
comat	comot
xotai	xotoi
gata-wei	got·

Grammatical Forms.

Pronouns:

S 1	na, na'en, poss. gen.
S 2	ma, ma'en, poss. men.
D 1	mak
P 1	mai

Demonstrative forms:

xi, xiu, xeu, xien; ko, xota, go-awe; ta, ta-in (or ta-en, his).

han-ta, what?

wat-cutex, who?

Verbal forms:

hiem toyon-si, it is (already) night.

na-an ti ma, will you eat?

tuna na na-an, I will eat.

hel ma tawaca, are you thirsty?

ama na tawaca, I am not thirsty.

heliu ma tanăwi, where are you going?

k'eneu-ji, xai-si.

loih-in.

wod-oyits, hutam-its, dancer, singer.

ui-ui-wil-eits, road-runner.

ho', wiwel, tiutin, sit, stand, walk!

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Paleuyami
Tulamni
Khomotwoli

*197 Miscellaneous:
● 193 kumui-tein, all; waxe-tein, many.
192 notci-gen, my friend.
tok-men, your ear.
citeil-hal, deer.

BUENA VISTA GROUP: TULAMNI AND KHOMETWOLI.

Pronouns:

S 1	na	nan	mik
S 2	ma	mam	min
D 1 ex.	nak		
D 1 in.	mak		
P 1 ex.			nimak
P 1 in.	mayi		
P 2	man		
P 3	aman		

Aman, they, is a Valley form. Yaudanchi lacks it.

Demonstratives:

xi, this, plural xi-san; xi-ta, here, xi-ten, there.

xuntu, that, plural xunte-e-an; xuntu, xonto, and xata were also given as equivalents of Yauelmani ke-in, this one's, his.

ta, that.

han-wil, what?

Forms of nouns:

saa, saa-al, eye, probably eyes, in other dialects saca.

suk'-al, "ear," probably ears; in other dialects tuk.

This -al is evidently the occasional Yauelmani plural-collective suffix of inanimate nouns -hal.

Cases: locative, hulas-iu, tsidjests-iu, teapan-au; possessive, got-eya-n.

Verbal forms:

lui', eat! (imperative).

luy-on, biy-en.

luy-on, tawate-ac.

haa-l, tana-al, tawate-al, xahayaw-al, oho'-l, gune-al.

ma'lac-ite, hiwet-ate.

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Wukchamni
Chukaimina and Michahai
Aïtĭcha

WUKCHAMNI.

Except for some lexical differences, this dialect is practically identical with Yaudanchi. 197 X 193 ● 192

Pronouns: na; nim, min, an.

Demonstratives: xi; ka; ta-ñ; han.

Adjectives: puunun, pudjidj, little.

Nouns: t-i, t-eu.

Verbs: wokiy-ad, tan-ãad, taut-a-d; daid-ji; duy-on; hai-wue, hoyo-woe; cañ-cañ-wid-eite, kuz-wud-eite.

The locative mam-au, at you, is used in the phrase xi-mamau, this, or here, near you. A form xi-ne-u, here, differs from Yaudanchi xe-u, but has northern analogues.

CHUKAIMINA AND MICHAHAI.

Pronouns: na, nim; ma, mam, min; imin; mak.

Demonstratives:

ke, this, locative keu, keua, possessive kin.
kai, gai, that, locative kau, gau, possessive kan.
ta, that.
han, what?

Nouns:

nihin-au, dul-au.

Numerals:

yete-am, eleven, poted-om, twelve, etc., as in Yaudanchi. [802]

Verbs:

tah-an, nah-an, xo-on.
tawat-a, dead.
yuwanwaca, marry.
hayu-ac, waxal-ac, tawat-ac.
laha-ite, moccasins.

AITICHA.

Pronouns:

S 1	na	nan	nim
S 2	ma		min
S 3			imin

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Aitichia
Choinimni
Gashowu

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Demonstratives:

ke, this, objective ki-n.
gai, that, possessive ka-n.
ta, that.
han, what?

Verbs:

hoitcuc, tawat-a-c.
ukun kin, drink this!

CHOINIMNI.

Pronouns:

nim-a, my [*sic*]; min-a, thy [*sic*]; imin, his.

Demonstratives:

ke, this, ke-u, here.
gai, that, ganiu, there.
ta, that, tau, there.
han, what?

Numerals:

[807] The suffix -am is used for eleven to nineteen as in Yaudanchi.

Verbs:

wan-ic, eik-ac, xahi-ac, ikâ-ac, taut-a-c, wowol-ac, k'anuw-ac, waxal-ic.
xoot-xo, dau'hali-xo.

GASHOWU.

Pronouns:

S 1	na	nan	nim
S 2	ma	mam	
S 3			amin
D 1 ex.			nimgin
D 1 in.	mak		
P 1 in.	mai		main
P 2	man		
P 3	aman		

Cf: wixi aman dumna, many the (lit., they) Dumna.

The form for his, amin, is that of the Valley and Northern dialects; the Kings River dialects have imin.

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Gashowu
Kechayi
Dumna

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Demonstratives:
ke, this, obj. kin, poss. kèin, loc. ke (for keu?).
gai, that, loc. gani, ganiu.
ta, that.
han, what?

[802]

Numerals:
yeteam, eleven; potedom, cophiom, hatepam, yit-team, teol-pom, nomteom, munteom, nonpom, twelve to nineteen.

Verbs:
tah-an.
wan-aac, wan-ei; ika-ac, eka-ei; hatam-ic, xahi-ac, hoito-ic, tauta-c, xoo-oc, k'anuw-ac, heut-ic, waxal-ic, ukn-ac, nah'-ac, pan-ac, lok'ôn-oc (luk'in).
daw'hali-xo.
haya-wic-ac, teaplu-wic.
kam-ini, teic-ini.
xo-mi, wowul-mu, banana-mi.

KECHAYI.

Of the few pronominal forms obtained, the one of most interest is amungun, their.

Demonstratives found were hi, plural hi-e-in, locative he-u, and gi, locative g-eu.

The imperative shows the ending -ka or -ga.

DUMNA.

Pronouns:

S 1	na	nan	nim
S 2	ma	mam	min
S 3			amin
D 1 in.	mak		
P 1 in.	mai		
P 2	mân		

Demonstratives:
hi, this; heu, here.
ki, gi, this; geu, here.
kini, this (?); kineu, geneu, here (?).
hân, what?

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Dumna
Toltichi

Nouns:

ton, digger-pine, plural tun-ša; ut'u, tree, ut'ô-a, timber. These plurals of inanimate nouns are unexampled in all other dialects that are grammatically known. Nônei, plural of nôno, man, occurs in other dialects also.

cuteon-au, (in the) brush.

ak"d-ate, child; poyod-ate, old man.

Adjectives:

got-ete, small, apparently from got-l, large.

Numerals:

yetcam, eleven, potedom, twelve; copiom, hato'pam, yit'team, teolpom, nom'teom, mun'team, non'pom, thirteen to nineteen.

Verbs:

lihim-ga, run, holoc-ga, sit, wowul-ga, stand, ugun-ga, drink, wan-ga, give, yet-ka, speak—all imperative.

ogon-an, drink, wiy-an, say, tac-an (taic), see.

tanyue-a-xon.

teapli-wic, moccasin; dat-la-wac, stepping-ceremony.

hacaw-ana, dead.

ma ti-ma wihi, did you say it?

TOLTICHI.

A divergent northern dialect, which has become extinct, was the Toltichi, spoken by the Yokuts tribe living farthest up the San Joaquin river. The last person actually using this dialect, a woman, is said by the Yokuts informants to have died thirty years ago. She was related to the old woman from whom the Dumna material used in the present paper was obtained, and from this Dumna informant a brief vocabulary of the Toltichi dialect was secured. This vocabulary, however, raises some doubts, and for this reason the dialect has not been included in the general consideration of the others. The fifty or sixty Toltichi words obtained show forms that go back quite clearly to stems characteristic of the northern Yokuts group. There are however two marked peculiarities, one phonetic, the other lexical. First, there are uniform consonant changes: s, c, and h to x, and

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Toltichi

n, l, y, te and sometimes t to w. Second, the numerals are peculiar in not being Yokuts at all, nor Miwok or Shoshonean nor apparently of any other known linguistic family. These divergent numerals render the Toltichi dialect very puzzling. It is beyond doubt that the set of numerals obtained existed somewhere in this region, for a second informant among the northern Yokuts was sufficiently acquainted with the series to state that it was correct. On general grounds, however, it seems highly improbable that a dialect differing from the other northern Yokuts dialects principally only in regular phonetic mutations should possess a numeral system radically peculiar to itself. It is possible that this numeral system belonged to a distinct linguistic family on the upper San Joaquin, almost extinct at the coming of the whites, and that these people, through intercourse with the neighboring Yokuts, were familiar also with Yokuts, which, on account of the phonetic characteristics of their own language, they barbarously distorted; but there is no direct evidence whatever to support such a conjecture. A further complication is caused by the fact that the phonetic mutations characterizing the bulk of the Toltichi material obtained are so extreme and consistent that they differ totally in nature from all known phonetic equivalences and changes of Yokuts dialects and dialectic groups. The informant evidently held a strong impression of the phonetic peculiarity of the language, particularly its roughness, for she pronounced its k's as far back in the throat as possible and emphasized as strongly as possible both the guttural and the spirant character of the x with which she replaced the s of her own dialect. As she spoke this it still bore some audible resemblance to s, and was formed with the lower lip drawn into the mouth. It seems very unlikely that any language was actually thus spoken. It must therefore be concluded that the phonetic peculiarities of this dialect have been exaggerated in the record obtained. Once this exaggeration is accepted, it becomes doubtful to what extent it was carried. It may be concluded that the dialect differed from the neighboring Yokuts dialects in the directions indicated by the material obtained; but whether only slightly, or to the degree shown by this vocabulary, must be doubtful.

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8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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DUMNA

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If, accordingly, the Toltichi were Yokuts,[1] and not people of another linguistic family whose distortion of Yokuts has been imitated in the scant material secured, they must be regarded as a specialized offshoot of the northern group. If their language is at all fairly represented by the vocabulary, it possessed sufficient distinctness to entitle it to be regarded as a separate branch, and the number of Yokuts dialectic groups would have to be increased from six to seven. After all considerations, however, the internal nature of the information secured raises so many doubts, that it has seemed best to regard the available material as only tentative, and to refrain from definitely regarding the Toltichi as forming a distinct Yokuts dialectic group.

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The material obtained is here given, together with the Dumna equivalents. It will be seen that the presence of the imperative suffix -ka, and of the form amin for the possessive pronoun of the third person, if correct, place Toltichi close to the other northern Yokuts dialects.

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English	*Toltichi*	*Dumna*
1	nis	yet
2	bis	punsi
3	nayo	shopin
4	hmin	hatepansi
5	hie	yitecinil
6	otol	te'olipl
7	mahste	nonte'in
8	te'oitemak	mon'os
9	wh'dits	nhnip
10	wadl'te	ta'lan
person	wohste	yohste
man	wo'wil	nhnoi
woman	mok'hwa	mok'lis
child	h'ow-its	ah'd-ats
ear	xuk'	tuk
eye	xaxa	sson
nose	winih'	t-inik
mouth	xama	ssmo
hand	p'odoz	h'ssos
foot	ta'wan'	dad-ats
back	hatauw'	gadai, sotos

[1] It may be said that several northern Yokuts informants were unanimous in declaring the Toltichi to have been a Yokuts tribe, and the one farthest up the San Joaquin river.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Toltichi
Dumna
Chukchansi

English	Toltichi	Dumna
house	elaus, alaus	alaus
moon	k'limin	k'laim
horizon sp.	wuxuto	taxâti
sun	xapin (hot)	xapil, ep
fire	ocit, -oxit	ocit
water	iwix	ilik
creek	wak'ai	wakai
earth	xowai	xotsoi
world	ho'g'li	holki'
dog	hâua	te'xa
grizzly bear	wox'o	sokoo
coyote	x'nin	kaiu
deer	xow	xoi
elk	xoxgoi	soxgoi
eagle	wo'ocul	wi'uul
horned	x'ots	hots
rattlesnake	wut-it-	nat-it-
small fish	wopit-	lopits
salmon	giwaxit	giyaxit
eat	xat-ga	xat-ga
drink	ugun-ga	ugun-ga
sleep	woxi-ka	woi-ka
talk	wat-ka	yet-ka
run	waxim-ka	lihim-ga
stand	xwoxwal-ka	wowul-ga
sit	howox-ka	holoc-ga
greeting	xuwaxan	hawaan
where?	xiw'os	hilou
where are you going?	xiw'os an tan'i(s)	hilou ma tâne
his	an'in	amin

CHUKCHANSI.

Pronouns:			
S 1	na	nim	nan-au
S 2	ma	min	
S 3		amin	amam-au
P 1 in.	mai		
P 3		amungun	

The locatives nan-au, by me, and amam-au, at him, were translated "here" and "there." It is not probable that the hypothetical objective of the third person singular, amam, to which amam-au points, has any actual existence. Yauelmani

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Chukchansi
Chauchila

*197 amam-in-wa, them, has the same hypothetical base, and this base
● 193 does not occur in Yauelmani.
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Demonstratives:

hi, locative he-u.

[ki, not obtained], locative ki-n-eu.

Nouns:

op-in, sun's.

nasi-n, rattlesnake's.

hoyim-h-an, of the Hoyima.

teaucil-h-an, of the Chauchila.

The locative in -u, -au, -iu is frequent.

Verbs:

-ka, imperative: winis-ka, hulos-ka, xat-ka, woi-ka, gun-ka, taic-ka, adj-idj-ka; heu-ne-k, pana-k.

-xon, continuative: yuncun-xon, quakes, honhon-xon, breathes, paix-im-xon, menstruates (honhon, heart, payax, blood).

-an, past: tuc-an, panai-an.

-it, passive: tuy-han-it, be shot.

-wic, reflexive: dani-wis-an, dui-wac, puxpux-wac.

-in, intransitive: heu-n-en, thus, heu-ne-k, do thus!

CHAUCHILA.

Pronouns:

S 1	na	nan	nim
S 2	ma	mam	min
D 1 in.			magin
P 1 in.	mai		main

Demonstratives:

he, this, poss. he-n-in, loc. he-u.

ke, that, loc. k-en.

wat, who, some one.

hileu, where?

Nouns:

nopop-in father's.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906) 1907
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Chauchila
Hoyima
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Verbs:

-ka, imperative.
-in, future-present.
-am (?)
-xo, -ł-xo, continuative.
-wic, reflexive.

The vowels of the three suffixes -ka, -in, -am are assimilated to the vowels of the stem. This is exceptional in Yokuts. Usually it is the stem-vowels that are affected by the suffix. When the suffix vowel is altered, in other Yokuts dialects, it is as frequently to contrast with the stem-vowels as to agree with them. The assimilation of the vowel of the imperative -ka is especially noteworthy, as in Yaudmani and other dialects this ending appears to be an enclitic rather than a true suffix, and fails to affect the vowels af the stem as a-suffixes do.

-ka: lui-ku, ukun-ku, tui-ku, gun-ku, lihim-i-ki, cilit-ki.
-in: ac-ac-an, woy-on, hiwet-en, ciel-en, tay-en.
-am: daue-am, thirsty; wok-om, kill.
-xo: etil-xo, tay-e-xo.
-wic: wok-woc, hoyo-wuc, lon-i-wic.

HOYIMA.

A few phrases of this dialect were given by Chauchila and Chukchansi informants. They appear not to be strictly accurate. [114]

helo naxon dut, Chauchila hileu nexo ux (?), what do you say (?)

haulen dut, Chauchila hileu nen ux (?), Chukchansi ha weta, what do you say?

etel-am na, Chauchila etil-xo na, I am hungry.

haul-na dut, Chukchansi haual na du, when was that?

wiy-en, Chukchansi heu-n-en, thus.

WAKICHI.

A few Wakichi phrases were obtained from the Dumna informant. The differences that these show from the equivalent Dumna phrases have probably been exaggerated.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Wakichi
Dumna
Wechikhit
Nutunutu

+197 wi-hin, say.
●193 wiy-ãahin, said; Dumna, wiy-ãn.
ut-upa ma wi-hin, Dumna ma ti-ma wi-hi, did you say it?
192 hau hin duta, Dumna hawã an dita, what is the matter?

Wakichi, Pitkat-i, and Hoyima were said to use buuc, not tcexa, for dog. This would include them with Chauchila, Chulamni, and probably Heuchi in the valley half of the Northern group, as contrasting with Chuckchansi, Dalinchi, Keehayi, and Dumna of the foot-hill half of the same group.

Pronouns:

WECHIKHIT.

S 1	na	nim
S 2	ma	min
S 3		amin
D 1 ex.		numògin
D 1 in.	mak	
P 1 in.	mai	
P 2	mãn	

Demonstratives:

hehi, this, hetam, here; ga, that, gau, there; wat-oku, han-uku, hiye-uku or hiye-uk, who? what? where?

Nouns:

p'an-in, world's.

Verbs:

holuc-k, sit! wan-ka, give!
taut-a-xo, kill; teow^{a}-xo, work.
tãn, go.
-in suffix: xat-en, lihim-en, hatm-en, wipil-en, texal-en, sil-en, ugn-on, woy-on, wow'l-on.
-wic reflexive: tanyu-wis, hoyo-woc, dat-la-was.

NUTUNUTU.

Pronouns: na, ma, mak, nim, min, amin.

Demonstratives: hehe-n, apparently possessive; hẽham, here; gau, there.

Verbs: xat-k, ugun-k, cil-k; wooi-an, huits-in, taow-on.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906) 1907
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Nutunutu

TACHI.

S 1	na	nan	nim
S 2	ma	mam	min
S 3			amin
D 1 in.	mak		makin
P 1 in.	mai		

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Demonstratives:

hihi, hehi, this (near).
ki, this, pom. ke-in, loc. ke-u.
ka, ga, that.
wat-uk, who?
han-uk, what?
haucun-uk, how many?
hiye-uk, hiye-k, where?

Numerals:

11	yete-am	16	teolp-om
12	batad-om	17	nouto-om
13	copi-om	18	mune-am
14	hotep-om	19	coponhot-min
15	yito-am		

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Nouns:

tatei, pl. tatetteayi.
t-uxoxi, pl. t-uxuxayi.
teunut, pl. teunutati.
(wimiltei), pl. wimiltatei.
(weteixit), pl. witetxatei.
(wowoi), pl. wowowoli.
(nutunutu), pl. nutanf-le-a.
witep, child, pl. witip-ate, witip-hat.
Possessive: -in.
Locative: -u.
Instrumental: -ni.

Verbs:

Imperative: -k, -g.
Continuative: -xo, -e-xo.
Preterite: -ahin.
Future-present: -in.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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Agent: -ite.
(Future passive): -nite, -nit.
Reflexive: -wic.
Causative: -la.
Future particle: min.
Negative particle: ohom, ôm.

Tachi phrases:

hô-la pûne	his dog.
pune-an dadat	dog's foot.
min mai oy-la âwo	shall we move across, we shall move to the other side.
hilata ôm na min hot'-ô-xo hoyowoe	(?) not I your know name.
hiek ma xo hôtel	where you live now?
hô-u hik xo tonil	there (this-at) I live west.
ôm na mam oil-ahin hilâmi	not I you saw long.
hiek ma ta	where you go?
hô-u na tan nim tee-u	there I go my house-at.
hik min tei	where your house?
hô-u na xô-n nihet-·la nim tee-u	there I live older-brother's my house-at.
ôm nim t-a witip-hat nhee	not my (?) children younger-brother's.
e-oybi-in pil	antelope's road, milky way.
yokote	person.
yokteo-lis	somebody.
nhteo-la, mokela-a	man's, woman's.
xorima-a	of the northerners.
tôe-lis	a kind of medicine man (maker).
xohot-lis	ceremonial clown.
yhi-an	all (one-at).
dat-la-wne	rattlesnake ceremony (making-step, = dai-da-âite).
munai	jimson-weed (tanai).
munuy-uwne	jimson-weed-drinking-ceremony (tany-uwis).

CHUNUT.

Pronouns: na, I, ma, thou, mak, we two.

Demonstratives: hetam, here, apparently from stem hi; ki, this, ke-u, there; ga, that; wat-uk, who; han-uk, what, hiye-uk, where.

Nouns: toino-in op, night's luminary, moon.

Verbs: The imperative ending was usually heard as -ga. The continuative -xo appears in oho-xo na I like; -an in tah-an; -wis in hoyo-woe; -ite in tsalai-wiy-âita.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906) 1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Chunut
Choinck

WO 'LASI. 197*

Pronouns found are na, mą, mak, nim, min, amin. 193
The demonstrative ta appears as ta-n, him, ta-in, hin. 192
Who? is wat-uk; where? hiye-uk or hiyòku.
The imperative usually ends in -k, sometimes in ka or ke.

CHOINOK.

Demonstratives:
ki, this; ka, that; hiy-uk, where?

Verbs:
zat-ka, ukun-ka, woi-ka, tui-ka.
taut-a-k, touwo-k.
got-on, strike.
gon-in-hin, fall.
san-san-wi-èite, tree-squirrel.

TEXTS IN VARIOUS DIALECTS. 539 197*

The following short texts have three sources. Numbers 1 to 27 are all transcriptions of phonographic records of songs obtained from Peter Christman, the principal Yaudanchi informant employed. Many of the songs were said by him to be in Yauelmani, Tachi, and other dialects. How far they may be mixed with Yaudanchi forms, or translated into the latter, is in many cases not certain; so that they can be used as material for a comparative study of dialects only with reservations. Numbers 28 to 35 were obtained from an old man called Chalola, by birth half Wowol, but speaking the Yauelmani dialect. The first five of these, numbers 28 to 32, are songs from a myth, and were recorded without the aid of a phonograph; the last three, numbers 33 to 35, are prayers or ceremonial speeches. All the material from this informant is good Yauelmani. Lastly, numbers 36 to 38, three short ceremonial speeches, are Tachi, obtained from a Tachi informant named Tom. The transcription and translation of the texts resemble those of the Yaudanchi texts. Translations in parentheses are given on the authority of the informant. [126 115] [115] [115]

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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dok'on belly-full	teixac-ma (he) you	
am-nan not me	piteiu touch	
ma you	ti-nan (what) me	haudihi can-do?
yapkanhin many-trees	t·ööd rattlesnake	
te'ineu shade	teixac (he)	
a-ma not you	han anything	hawad'i can-do
am-nan not me	piteiu touch	
am-nan not me	piteiu touch	
te'odwonhin plains	t·ööd rattlesnake	
te'ododin white	ma you	enea eye
opodnid sun-shines-on	min your	
am-nan not me	piteiu touch	

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The language is Yaudanchi. Several interesting forms occur. Opodnid is perhaps the continuative of an intransitive derivative from the word sun: opodo, -in, -ad. The collectives in -hin and -han have not been found otherwise in Yaudanchi, but recall the inanimate collective -hal of Yauelmani. The informant once said tiñel-hal for tiñel-han. The latter he translated "squirrel town." In addition to the forms given in the song, namely, yapkan-hin from yapkin, and doxmad-hin and te'odwon-hin, he also used the word bokdo-hin, "where many springs." As spring is bokid, the ending -hin is in this word added to the locative suffix. None of the nouns in question are capable of taking an ordinary plural. The forms -hin and -han have some appearance of being possessives.

[p.4-A]

LINGUISTIC ASPECTS OF YOKUTS STYLE

To the extent that language is a medium for communicating ideas and for recording experience, appropriate equivalents in one language can always be supplied for those of another.[3] On this colorless level a language has no style; it is merely what a dictionary implies it is--a bundle of lexical units for referring to things and events and relations, an instrument for conveying the brute content of experience.

But we are intuitively aware that our own native tongue, at least, is more than a group of speech symbols for referring to chairs and tables. We know, for instance, that there are a number of ways of saying essentially the same thing, that similar notions can be expressed by different stylistic uses of the language. Our intimate association with our native mode of expression has made us so acutely sensitive to these minute differences of style that we can frequently identify speakers or writers by the manner in which they draw upon the resources of the language. But our ability to make such fine discriminations within one language medium carries with it the seeds of an illusion, for inevitably we get the feeling that there is no limit to the potential variations of style in our language. And we are encouraged in this illusion by literary artists, whose task it is to convince us that they are working with a perfectly flexible medium that can be molded to any desired shape.

The process of translation helps to correct such illusions. In translating we come to the unhappy realization that each language, instead of shaping itself to our will, governs and directs the trend of our expression. We are sharply reminded that languages have an inner resistance. Their materials are already shaped into a system of formal and conceptual patterns. Within the patterns of a language other than our own, we are forced to make uncongenial distinctions and to ignore other distinctions that seem imperative to us. In Yokuts, for example, it is necessary to discriminate in all tenses an event

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[3] Phonetic key.--i, as in English beet; e, as in English bet; a, as in German Mann; o, as in French note; u, as in English boot; '(as i', e', etc.) indicates that the vowel is long; p, t, k, aspirated surds, as in English pill, till, kill; b, d, g, unaspirated surds, as in French pas, tas, cas; p̣, ṭ, ḳ, like b, d, g, but with simultaneous glottal release; ', glottal stop; . (as ṭ, ṣ, etc.) indicates that the consonant is articulated with the tip of the tongue against the alveolar ridge, somewhat farther back along the palate than the articulation for English t, s, etc. Other phonetic symbols can be read with their English value.

[P.4-B]

LINGUISTIC ASPECTS OF YOKUTS STYLE

193 which is in the process of transpiring from one that has already taken place and exists only as a resultant state or condition: a fundamental contrast is expressed in "he is walking" as against "he is in a condition subsequent to walking." Such a distinction is pedantic in English. On the other hand, the number category is treated very casually in Yokuts as compared to English. Plurality need not be expressed in most nouns unless there is some special point to it; the form "house" can do the work of referring to the plural as well as the singular.

121 These patterns, however, are merely the potentialities of style. A grammar deals with them directly, describing their forms and their conceptual functions. It is not concerned with the selective tendencies operating in actual usage to favor certain potentialities and to neglect others. It tells what a language can do but not what it considers worthwhile doing. To the native a grammar is always unconvincing, for it ignores the most vital and intimate part of his language--the intricate network of values, of attitudes and expectancies that guides his selection of expressive tools.

It would be a sentimental presumption to suppose that we, as outsiders, can respond significantly to the values locked within the Yokuts language. The values and anticipations that we have developed in our own language will not be satisfied in Yokuts. In spite of this, we can escape our bias to some degree by following the selective trends of Yokuts as manifestations of the stylistic values proper to that language and by examining the manner in which Yokuts arrives at an integrated style through the exploitation of certain of its latent resources and the rejection of others.

195 538 A striking uniformity of style is to be found in Yokuts, and the personal narratives collected in the field show the same stylistic qualities as the myths and tales. In these stories there is no tendency to indulge in the elaboration of concrete details. The notions expressed remain on a highly generalized level. This bareness and simplicity of expression can be traced to a number of grammatical factors. Suffixation is practically the only grammatical technique of Yokuts that augments the meaning of word roots. The addition of a suffix, however, sets in motion a chain of formal operations. Principal among these are the vowel processes: in addition to occasional vowel changes that occur under special conditions, the root vowels undergo constant changes dictated by an intricate system of vowel classes; and the vowels of the suffix itself must then be changed to harmonize with the vowels of the root. To add the durative present -'an, for example, the roots 'e·pi, "swim," and de·yi,

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193 "lead, take the lead," change their vowels in the stems 'ipa·-'an, "he is swimming" and diya·-'an, "he is leading." But the suffix must also change its vowel when it is appended to a stem of the "o" class: parallel to the forms quoted above, the root yo·wo, "go home," undergoes vowel changes and also affects the vowel of the suffix in yowo·-'on, "he is going home."

But all of this shifting and balancing of vowels is completely devoid of any referential function. The vowel changes have a purely formal relevance and carry with them no increments of meaning. They are not like our vowel changes in "sing, sang, sung" or in "man, men," which have a clearly assignable function. They resemble the nonfunctional vowel changes in the stressed syllables of "grateful, gratitude" or "volcano, volcanic." Whereas changes of this type affect only a minute portion of the English vocabulary, in Yokuts they are deeply embedded in the language system and accompany every process applied to the word.

In its organization of morphological elements, Yokuts shows the same disregard for external function. The tightly organized and interrelated classifications of word types and subtypes, of stems, and of suffixes are not based upon any rationale of their conceptual content. These elements are classified according to their phonetic form and the way they behave as morphological units, not according to their meaning.

193 195 Every language possesses a certain amount of formal machinery that does not generate meaning. Of this type are the occasional vowel changes of English, mentioned above, and some scattered consonant changes ("invade, invasion; equate, equation"). But there is a scrupulous and unremitting attention given to form for its own sake in Yokuts. Throughout its grammatical system Yokuts reveals a degree of neatness and consistency in organization, a formal balance and symmetry, that is rare among languages. Although this formal emphasis contributes feebly to the creation of meanings, it is by no means insignificant as a stylistic factor. Formal movements that take place below the level of tangible meanings carry their own esthetic satisfactions. But they are the most subtle and indigenous aspects of a language; they can never be captured in a translation.

193 The suffixing system, which bears the heaviest burden of functional work in Yokuts, does not provide the means for an elaborate development of concepts within the word. There are no more than a hundred suffixes in Yokuts. Although English possesses about the same number, it does not rely primarily upon suffixation; such techniques as word order, compounding, prefixation carry as much, if not more, of the functional load. Yet, in spite of the fact that Yokuts depends almost exclusively upon suffixes, it is remarkably restrained in exploiting the

193 possibilities of suffix combination. Every word in Yokuts, except the uninflected particle, must have at least one suffix, and the great majority of words occurring in the several volumes of text dictated by my informants do not go beyond this minimum requirement. Words containing two suffixes are fairly common; but words with three suffixes are relatively rare, and those with more than three are practically nonexistent in the texts. This is not a matter of mere statistics; it is a manifestation of selective forces in Yokuts that limit the free application of its grammatical resources. There is no analogous tendency in English to set upper and lower limits to the use of suffixation and to demand that a uniform degree of suffix elaboration be applied to words. As a matter of fact, English does not seek economy or uniformity in the use of any of its grammatical materials. In spite of the fact that we generally look outside the word unit to syntax for the creation of notional complexes, we feel no more strain in a lavishly suffixed word, such as "nationalistically" with its six suffixes, than in a suffixless word, such as "state."

124 193 An instructive exercise that I indulged in during my Yokuts field work was to construct words having four or five suffixes and to ask the informant for a translation. Although such words complied with the grammatical rules and could be translated by my informant without any difficulty, they seldom failed to provoke his amusement. It was obvious that these words were impossibly heavy and elaborate. To the Yokuts feeling for simplicity they were grammatical monstrosities.

193 196 The concepts expressed by the suffixes are abstract in nature. Yokuts does not possess the types of formative element, so familiar in many American Indian languages, that convey notions of concrete instrumentality, such as "with the hand" and "with a stick," or notions of specific location, such as "on the shore" and "in the house." The suffixes of Yokuts have more the character of algebraic symbols; their content is schematic rather than material. Among the verb suffixes, for example, are those defining an event as durative, continuative, repetitive, causative, reciprocal, passive, subordinate, undifferentiated past or present; future. The most common noun suffixes refer to case relations, marking the subject, direct object, and indirect object, or denoting possession, location, and the like. Particularized and concrete meanings are not expressed through the suffixes in Yokuts.

Even the stems, which are the only elements in Yokuts that can specify the material details of reference, show a strong tendency to carve out broad and comprehensive meanings from the referential field. The vocabulary of verb stems is largely made up of such diffuse and generalized notions as "come," "go," "walk," "run," "hear," "see," "smell." When suffixes with their abstract meanings are joined to stems whose referential content is so inclusive, the resulting words con-

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193 196 tain notions that are generalized. Although English is well stocked with words expressing notions of this kind, it also has an extensive vocabulary whose words are packed with delicate overtones of meaning. It can add subtle nuances to the general notion of "walk" by using such terms as "stroll," "saunter," "stride," "pace," "march," "tread," "plod," "hobble," "limp," "toddle." There is nothing like this in Yokuts. A book of Yokuts synonyms would be poor indeed. The language is not well equipped, either in its stems or in its formative elements, to build word units that are conceptually detailed or that express refinements and shadings of meaning.

195 Nor are the broad concepts of Yokuts words sharpened by special figurative uses. A stubborn literalness of reference invades the entire language. The shifts and extensions of meaning that add pungency and vigor to English play no part in Yokuts style. Such phrases as "to strike the eye," "to strike a bargain," "a sharp tongue," "a sharp appetite," "the family tree," "the tree of knowledge" illustrate the English genius for employing terms transferred from their literal sense. But in Yokuts a tree is a tree and nothing more. The language does not permit its words to cut metaphorical capers.

By exploiting the metaphorical possibilities of English words and by drawing upon our vocabulary of finely nuanced words, we can achieve variety and nicety of expression. Manuals of English style are merely underlining the potentialities inherent in the language when they encourage the student in his frantic efforts to avoid repetitions of the same word in close proximity. Although we may regard variety as an absolute virtue of style and repetition as a universal sin, it is obvious that Yokuts cannot be driven in this direction. The broad area of reference covered by Yokuts words gives them a wide range of application, and their literal significance holds them austerely within their proper boundaries of reference. It would be flying in the face of these forces in Yokuts to seek variety by ringing delicate changes upon a recurring notion. When a notion is to be repeated, there is no need to avoid verbal repetition. A passage such as, "And he walked home. And his friend also walked home. And the people walked home," however monotonous and slovenly it may appear to English sensibilities, is stylistically appropriate in Yokuts.

192 196 Yokuts possesses a special class of verbs which, in contrast to the generalized concepts typical of the language, express notions that are narrowly defined and specific. The following examples illustrate the kind of notions conveyed by this class of verbs.

ɬubwiyi, "strike a flat object to the ground."
wipwiyi, "make a slow bending motion upward" (as branches bending upward in the wind).
bidinwiyi, "tumble from a high place."

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192 xapap'wiyi, "get spread out in a fanlike formation."
196 no·mo·mwiyi, "make puckering motions in and out."

192 The stylistic possibilities of these verbs for
195 creating vivid images in a concentrated manner is obvious; but not so obvious to English feeling, which delights in flashes of sharp imagery, is the sense of violence and bizarreness which these verbs suggest to the Yokuts stylistic consciousness.

193 From the perspective of Yokuts, these verbs
195 are linguistic freaks. Their grammatical form, as well as their content, is anomalous in the Yokuts system. These verbs are composed of two elements, a stem of the verb wiyi, "do, do thus," being added to another stem defining the nature of the activity. The technique of stem composition, displayed in these "do" verbs, occurs nowhere else in the language. Furthermore, a number of the "do" verbs, particularly those referring to specific sounds, contain a stem having
[192] an onomatopoetic force: ga·gwiyi, "cackle," tuhwiyi, "spit," 'uhwiyi, "cough," hihwiyi, "make a hiccuping sound," miwwiyi, "whistle through the air." Such mimetic play with sounds is not only absent elsewhere in the language, but it is out of keeping with the severe formalism of Yokuts. In their meanings, in their form, and in their phonetic mimicry, these verbs seem to be cut to the pattern of a foreign idiom. They are like an ornate Byzantine mosaic set in a Calvinistic church.

192 It is a significant comment on the directive
195 tendencies of historical drift in language that
197 these eccentric "do" verbs have been leveled out of most of the modern Yokuts dialects. Only a few petrified noun derivatives are left in these dialects to indicate that the "do" verbs were formerly common throughout Yokuts. Only in one dialect, Yauelmani, have they been found as a fully operative and productive set of verbs. But they have a peculiar status in this dialect: they are regarded as the linguistic property of chil-
124 dren. I did not become aware of this class of
192 verbs until, after two or three weeks of field
195 work, I overheard some remarks which my informant's eight-year-old son was addressing to himself. Only with the greatest difficulty could I coax my informant to explain the "do" verb which his child had used and to give me further examples of this class. It was evident that he regarded
[197] words of this type as being too silly for serious
[88] discussion and totally out of keeping with the essential sobriety of adulthood. Not until some time later did he tell me that these words were used primarily by children. But even after he had overcome his reluctance to discuss the "do" verbs, he was never able to treat them seriously. A spirit of facetiousness always accompanied our work with them.

195 The myths do not contain many examples of the
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195 "do" verbs. As a stylistic device these verbs
538 are limited in their usefulness to contexts where an implication of startling and ludicrous extravagance is appropriate. In the story of Condor and Falcon only two examples occur. The first one describes the ineffectual booming sound made by Thunder in his efforts to move (p. 1), the use of a "do" verb in this case suggesting not only the violence of the noise but its incongruity as coming from so helpless a person as Thunder. In the incident dealing with Crow (p. 1), another "do" verb is employed to refer to his sudden transformation of color. Again the verb adds a touch of characterization, for Crow turns black as a result of stupidly gorging himself with black seeds. Stories dealing with Coyote as a trickster and a dupe offer the most favorable conditions for the use of these verbs. And yet, despite their effectiveness for describing the clownish antics of Coyote, they are not very frequent even in stories of this type. There still remains the feeling that the "do" verbs belong to a lunatic fringe of the language.

171 Something of the same flavor pervades the
195 various sets of reduplicated words in English--"putt-putt" and "toot-toot," "pitter-patter" and "tittle-tattle," "piggy-wiggy" and "ducky-wucky." Like stem composition in Yokuts, reduplication is so exceptional and aberrant in English that it strikes the native form-feeling as a piece of ingenuous frivolity, proper to childish speech and appropriate on an adult level only when a frivolous reference is intended. But the values which color a grammatical technique are relative to the individual patterning of each
● [193] language. To reverse the analogy, reduplication is felt as a thoroughly respectable technique in Yokuts, just as stem composition in English, as illustrated in "blackbird" or "noteworthy," has nothing of the outlandish character that it possesses in Yokuts. Even onomatopoeia, whose apparently spontaneous and direct symbolism might be expected to find a universal response, carries a different stylistic tone in the two languages: in Yokuts it is associated only with the eccentric "do" verbs; in English, though it occurs in many of the low-caste reduplicated words, it is also found extensively throughout our vocabulary of image-creating words, such as "clink," "hush," "squeak," "squeal," where it serves to sharpen the vividness and specificity of reference.

193 Words are convenient but arbitrary units by
195 means of which to examine the kinds of notions that a language expresses and the style of its expression. The limits of a word are determined by the morphological factors peculiar to each language, not by any notional criteria. Although Yokuts words, with the notable exception of the "do" verbs, tend to sketch only the bare and generalized outlines of a reference, the language possesses syntactic resources for combining words in such a way that its sentences could attain

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193 any degree of notional intricacy and richness.
195 A passage of Macaulay's prose, with its long and involved periods, could be translated into grammatically correct Yokuts. But the result would be a grammarian's idle fancy, a distortion of the syntactic idiom of Yokuts. The language is as diffident in applying its means of elaboration in syntax as in suffixation.

Adjectival notions, for example, can be expressed by means of a simple syntactic device. A noun functions as an adjectival term augmenting or delimiting the meaning of any other noun by being linked in parallel series with it, and theoretically any number of such adjectival nouns can be juxtaposed to the noun they modify. The English predication, "he entered the small gray house," could be paraphrased in Yokuts: go·binhin ṭew gudew ṗahlikniw, "he entered the house, the small one, the gray one." But one will search far in a body of Yokuts myths to find any such double use of adjectival terms modifying a noun. With the exception of demonstratives ("this one, that one") and quantifiers ("one, two, all, many"), even a single modifying term is rarely juxtaposed to a noun. Yokuts prefers to make separate sentences of its qualifications. More in line with the stylistic habits of Yokuts would be go·binhin ṭew / 'ama' ṭa gudi' / 'ama' ṭa yow ṗahlikin, "he entered the house. / And that one was a small one. / And that one was also a gray one."

In the same spirit Yokuts avoids expressing subordinate and superordinate relations between its predications. It possesses particles indicating temporal and modal subordination, such as "when" and "if," and suffixes forming subordinate verbs, but these are syntactic tools that Yokuts employs only on rare occasions. Its favorite device for relating predications to one another is the particle 'ama', that can best be translated as "and" or "and then," an element that achieves only the loosest and most ambiguous type of co-ordination. The great majority of sentences in a Yokuts text begin with this feeble co-ordinator. Occasionally a tighter cohesion is attained by the use of another particle meaning "also, again." But the language seldom goes beyond this in its efforts to connect and relate its predications.

195 These items of syntactic behavior reflect the general tendency in Yokuts to demand a severe simplicity of content from its units of expression. In contrast to English, Yokuts does not pack its individual words with a wealth of meaning, nor does it compensate for the conceptual thinness of its words by an elaborate display of syntactic processes. Notions are sparsely distributed over a sequence of predications, and the predications themselves are broken up into independent, loosely joined sentences.

To the English imagination, rooted in its own habits of expression, the total effect of Yokuts style is anything but stimulating. The mode of expression undoubtedly appears drab, colorless,